# Study on Korean Chinese: From the Perspectives of Comparative Research on Redeveloping Communities of Koreans in China and in Japan

Hideki HARAJIRI*

**Abstract:** This article, through comparative research on Korean Chinese and Koreans in Japan, clarifies the meanings of culture for both Korean Chinese and Koreans in Japan. Although Korean Chinese have maintained their pre-modern traditional Korean cultures and accepted modern ideas and tactics from colonial Japanese (during the Manchukuo period) and Chinese (primarily after 1945), Koreans in Japan have not retained their pre-modern cultures and have been influenced by three modern nation-states, Japan, North Korea and South Korea.

***Keywords:*** *Pre-modern cultures, symbiotic inter-ethnic relationships, modern nation-states, kye, age groups, body*

## Introduction

Through comparative research on Korean Chinese and Koreans in Japan this article clarifies the meanings of culture for both Korean Chinese and Koreans in Japan. Field data, written documents, academic articles, and books are interpreted from the perspectives of pre-modern cultures and modern nation-state cultures. Although Korean Chinese have maintained their pre-modern traditional Korean cultures and accepted modern ideas and tactics from colonial Japanese (during the Manchukuo period) and Chinese (primarily after 1945), Koreans in Japan have not maintained their pre-modern cultures and have been influenced by three modern nation-states, Japan, North Korea, and South Korea.

Section 1, entitled “Redeveloping Korean Communities in China during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,” focuses on Korean immigrant history from Korea to China. Since Koreans in China followed their Korean traditional pre-modern cultures, they established their own cultural base. Basically, they reestablished Korean communities in China. Their cultural characteristics are typically divided into relocation adaptability, age grouping, and body culture. Because of these cultural traits, Korean Chinese created their own consciousness as Koreans and cooperated with each other.

* Professor of College of Social Sciences, Ritsumeikan University
Email: hharajiri@hotmail.com
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Through Section 2, entitled “Korean Communities in Japan during the Twentieth Century,” we learn that Koreans in Japan did not create their own ethnic communities in Japan. Since they had lost Korean traditional pre-modern cultures and became industrial laborers, these Koreans resided together in ghetto-like circumstances, although Cheju islanders did not live in this way. Only Cheju islanders created second village communities in Japan. After 1945, Koreans in Japan were discriminated against and segregated by the Japanese majority. Modern nation-states are their identity base, whether they are North Korea or South Korea.

Section 3, entitled “Inter Ethnic Relationships between Koreans and Other Ethnic People in China and Japan,” presents the inter-ethnic reality of Korean Chinese and Koreans in Japan. Since Korean Chinese concentrated on rice agriculture, they depended upon Han Chinese for vegetables, compost, and other items. This basic relationship between Korean Chinese and Han Chinese has been, for Korean Chinese, the basic attitude of approach toward others, and this symbiotic attitude of Korean Chinese has applied to all their human relationships in general. Koreans in Japan were oppressed by the Japanese, and their identity has been supported by modern nation-states, that is, North Korea or South Korea. They do not have to be concerned about their original cultures. Only modern nation-states are visible and contribute to their lives in Japan.

In the Conclusion it is suggested that Korean Chinese have accepted modern ideas and tactics from Japanese and Chinese. In other words, post-modern conditions, for example, relocating to other places and countries, give Korean Chinese new choices for their lives. Koreans in Japan are very modern people who have been dominated by Japan, North Korea, and South Korea. They have lost their pre-modern cultures, with the exception of Cheju islanders. This is the main difference between Koreans in Japan and Korean Chinese.

# 1. Redeveloping Korean Communities in China during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

The relocation of Koreans to China has a long history. As China neighbors the Korean Peninsula, historically Koreans have entered Chinese lands, and other people, such as Manchurian people, have entered the Korean Peninsula. Yi Sŏng-gye, the founder of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910), also had a Manchurian name. The distinction between Koreans and Manchurians was vague (North Korean dialects include Manchurian words), and it is well known that Koreans moved to China hundreds of years ago. The surname Park (in Chinese, Piao) has not been shared as a Chinese surname, but there have been people surnamed Park residing in China, though they cannot speak Korean and now speak only Chinese. They believe that their ancestors came from Korea to China several hundred years ago, and in recent times they have been given a Korean origin certificate from the Chinese government.

However, most Korean Chinese today trace their immigrant history back approximately 150 years. Koreans moved from northern Korea to northeastern China before the twentieth century in order to practice slash-and-burn agriculture. There were several routines for this type of agriculture: they would spend several days of travel for slash-and-burn work and then return to their home villages; or one or two months of travel for slash-and burn farming and then return to their villages; or stay for six months or one year as part-time residents in China and then return to their villages. Slash-and-burn farmers did not need to communicate or deal with the native Chinese.

However, this Korean agricultural method had greatly changed by the end of the nineteenth century. Before the beginning of the twentieth century, Koreans succeeded in rice paddy agriculture experiments in northeastern China (JIN Ying 2010: 92). Many Koreans then relocated to this area because of the rice paddy agriculture, and many Korean villages were formed. Before the establishment of Manchukuo in 1931, about 650,000 Koreans had moved from Korea to northeastern

China and were engaged in rice paddy agriculture. This was the start of the Korean community in this area. It is very difficult to research the exact number of the population of Koreans in Manchukuo, but we can find the official record by the Japanese colonial governments in Korea and Manchukuo, which is shown in Diagram 1. During the Manchukuo period, the Japanese colonial government, namely, the Kwantung Army, tried to integrate Koreans into its colonial rule, but failed. One successful trial was the artificial Korean *kye* (契), which is a grouping method in Korean villages. Since Japanese colonialists both in Korea and Manchukuo had researched the Korean community and Korean groupings in Korean villages, they knew and understood the meaning of *kye* for Korean farmers. Japanese officials used the *kye* for integrating Koreans in Korean villages in Manchukuo (JIN Yong-zhe 2012: 102-103).

The Japanese colonial government had different policies for Koreans in Korea than for Koreans in Manchukuo. This colonial government wanted to push Koreans in Korea into Manchukuo because of the population growth in Korea, but the Japanese colonial government in Manchukuo wanted to accept only Japanese from Japan in order to integrate Manchukuo. Koreans were not meaningful people from the perspective of the Manchukuo colonial government. This conflict between the colonial governments of Korea and Manchukuo went on from 1932 until 1936 (JIN Yong-zhe 2012: 60-61, 132). In the end, the Japanese colonial government in Manchukuo dominated the governance of Koreans. However, it was almost impossible to stop the flood of Koreans from Korea. Koreans immigrated into northeastern China in order to survive, for they believed a rumor among Koreans that Manchuria had large amounts of land to be cultivated. Whether or not this rumor was true, it was difficult for them to live in Korea. They had to escape from their own land in order to survive.

Diagram 1. Population of Koreans in Manchukuo

| Year | Population | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | Total |
| 1920 | 261870 | 197557 | 459427 |
| 1921 | 271150 | 217506 | 488656 |
| 1922 | 285494 | 231371 | 516865 |
| 1923 | 289750 | 238277 | 528027 |
| 1924 | 292769 | 239088 | 531857 |
| 1925 | 289381 | 242592 | 531857 |
| 1926 | 298110 | 244075 | 542185 |
| 1927 | 304582 | 253698 | 558280 |
| 1928 | 313599 | 263453 | 577052 |
| 1929 | 322631 | 275046 | 597677 |
| 1930 | 325781 | 281338 | 607119 |
| 1931 | 338414 | 292572 | 630982 |
| 1932 | 360174 | 312475 | 672649 |
| 1933 | 358876 | 314918 | 673794 |
| 1934 | 383435 | 336553 | 719588 |
| 1935 | 432880 | 374626 | 807506 |
| 1936 | 420495 | 407874 | 828369 |
| 1937 | 514048 | 437181 | 122860 |

From (JIN Yong-zhe 2012: 92) based on documents from Japanese colonial government in Korea
(朝鮮総督府『在満朝鮮総督府施設記念帖)

There were also Korean people who tried to resist Japanese colonial rule. The anti-Japanese colonial rule movement was a powerful motivation among a small number of Koreans, but the

Manchukuo government defeated this Korean anti-colonial movement.

Most Koreans during the Manchukuo period were peasants or farmers. Because of Japanese colonial policy, foreign culture was limited to Chinese culture and Koreans had to be assimilated among the Japanese in Manchukuo. In spite of this basic rule created by Japanese colonial policy, Koreans maintained their Korean customs and language. This was a form of soft resistance against Japanese colonial rule, and in the end, Koreans succeeded in maintaining their cultures because of this soft resistance.

Although most Koreans in Japan before 1945 were industrial laborers, Koreans in Manchukuo were peasants and farmers. There were distinctions between them. Koreans in Manchukuo maintained Korean customs and the language based upon the Korean community of paddy agriculture. The community of Koreans in China had been active from long before the decline of Korean villages in the 1980s.

As rice paddy agriculture was similar to agricultural life in Korea, both Korean customs and the Korean language were maintained. Paddy agriculture required group labor, and could not be carried out unless the Koreans collaborated as communities. As the life of these Korean communities was based on their Korean cultures, this ensured their survival, and the survival of their customs and culture.

In Korean Chinese culture, we can find three important characteristics. These are relocation to other places, a grouping culture, and a body culture. Before the establishment of rice paddy agriculture, slash-and-burn agriculture was common among Koreans in China. Slash-and-burn agriculture was based on relocation while rice paddy agriculture depended upon settlement. Still, after the establishment of rice paddy agriculture, relocation became very common among Koreans in China. That is, Korean Chinese have maintained two traditional cultures: relocation and settlement. While these two traditional cultures seem contradictory, from the perspectives of Korean Chinese, they have used these two cultures in order to survive and gain better futures. After the safe settlement of Korean Chinese in their Korean villages after the 1960s, some Koreans relocated to other places during the agricultural off-season and returned to their own villages. Some Koreans went to other provinces for agricultural or other work, and after settlement there for several years they returned to their home villages. Today, Korean Chinese shish kebab is popular. After the 1960s, this food was brought to Yanbian from Uighur areas by Korean Chinese LIU (Jinzai 2006 : 116, 121). In other cases, Koreans relocated to other Korean Chinese villages to better their lives.

Historically, most Koreans did not own land during the Manchukuo period. Relocation was their basic survival method, although Korean villages gave them opportunities for settlement. The relocation method continued during the periods of rule by the Nationalist party and then by the Communist party and the instability caused by the Korean War. In addition, those people who achieved better educational performance in school left their villages for Beijing and other large cities in order to enter universities. Relocation for Korean Chinese has been the gateway to their future success.

During the 1980s, Korean Chinese started to go to Japan for study and to relocate to Russia and South Korea for business. The number of Korean Chinese residing outside China at this time exceeded 650,000 people, and that number continued to increase. The number of Korean Chinese today is about 2 million. Also, Korean Chinese have relocated to other places from their homeland in northeastern China and the number of Korean Chinese in their homeland continues to decrease.

I met many Korean Chinese while conducting fieldwork in the Koreatowns of Los Angeles and New York City in order to research Korean Chinese there (First from 2003 to 2005 I visited both LA and New York every year and then from 2011 to 2015. I visited the same places every year). During the 2000s, most Korean Chinese in the United States were illegal immigrants (Harajiri 2006b: 174). I visited a Korean Chinese church in LA many times and all members were illegal immigrants except for the Korean Chinese minister. During the 2000s, it was very hard for Chinese to visit foreign countries legally in general. I asked such Koreans why they came as illegal immigrants, for they

could not speak English and had no American friends. All of my informants told me that they came to America to gain money. It cost much money to come as illegal immigrants, and they had to repay illegal immigrant brokers, which took at least two or three years. To become illegal immigrants was very risky although they had maintained the economic safety of their own lives in China. From a historical perspective, Korean Chinese have developed a relocating habitus in order to gain better future lives. To become illegal immigrants in America is typical evidence of this habitus.

There is other evidence of this habitus. Many Korean Chinese have been living in Japan for their studies for more than 30 years. (The number of Korean Chinese in Japan is about 50,000.[1] I have spoken to many Korean Chinese students in Japan. These students have not researched Japanese universities and they have come to Japan simply to live. This basic attitude of Korean Chinese students in Japan is similar to that of illegal Korean Chinese immigrants in America. Some students have not cared about the level of their universities in Japan, because the purpose of their studies in Japan has just been to live in Japan. Of course, some of them have had their own life strategies and selected better universities, but those individuals have been exceptional cases. Most Korean Chinese students in Japan have actually followed the historically constructed Korean Chinese habitus. These students typically have awoken after graduation and sought jobs in Japan. They awoke for their actual lives in Japan and in Japanese culture and society. Their habitus has helped them adapt to their entry into Japan, and now they can make their own life strategies. This tendency can also be found among Chinese students in Japan, but Korean Chinese students have stronger adaptation abilities and this opens for them a door for their business success and their future.

Although Korean Chinese students can speak Japanese because of their study lives in Japan, illegal Korean Chinese residents in America cannot speak English. These two Japanese and American cases mean that their habitus provides chances for adaptation, but the American case cannot ensure their future lives. Illegal Korean Chinese immigrants do not want to return to China because of their long stay in the United States, and although they have an unsafe legal status, their relatively improved economic lives cause them to risk staying much longer. Moreover, some ambitious Korean Chinese seek out a Chinese lawyer for assistance in receiving a green card from the American government. Those who have professional skills such as artists, Chinese medicine practitioners, and others, can become successful, but they are the exceptions among the illegal immigrants. Their habitus cannot guarantee their future lives.

After discussing the relocation of Korean Chinese to other places, the second characteristic is their grouping culture. Following Korean traditional cultures, the *kye* grouping has been dependent on *kapchang* (갑장). This concept means the same age group in Chŏlla and Cheju provinces. Kapkye derived from kapchang, meaning same age people, means the same age group[2]. Whether or not Hamgyŏng Province people had the same age group or *kapchang*, they had maintained the age grouping system in their Korean villages. Every year, Korean Chinese festivals have had age grouping; for example, a young men's group, a middle-age men's group, and an old men's group (HAN 2001: 203). *Kye* grouping has always contained these age groupings. Age hierarchy must be the basis of a *kye*. The age order is also dependent on Confucianism. Confucianism historically came into commoner lives about 150 years ago. *Kye* and *kapchang* have had a much longer history than Confucianism. But these Korean traditions based on age and on Confucianism were not contradictory. The latter idea could depend upon this former tradition.

*Pumasi* (품앗이) and *ture* (**두레**), mutual labor aid groupings, were based on *kye* in Korean farming communities. The *kye* became the Korean financial aid system, and is popular in South Korea. But among Korean Chinese this system is not maintained today. The Japanese colonial rule used this system for integrating Koreans in Manchukuo, and it was effective for Koreans (JIN Yong-

[1] According to Ministry of Government Administration and Home affairs (2014), in South Korea 608,089, according to Liu Jingzai (2008), 53,000 in Japan, and according to the Dong-A Ilbo newspaper (January 27, 2006) over 20,000 in the United States, and according to Overseas Korean newspaper (January 23, 2006) from 30,000 to 50,000 in Russia.

[2] Kapchang in field language is used for the same age people, the social relations and the social group of the same age people.

zhe 2012: 39-40). Without Korean grouping and mutual aid systems, it would not have been easy for Koreans to survive in Manchukuo. *Kye* grouping was the basic grouping in Korean farmer communities from the 1930s to the 1960s (LIM Mei 2014: 82).

After the 1960s, Korean traditional groupings in their farming villages were changed when the Chinese government reformed the bureaucratic system for Chinese agriculture, and the *kye* was changed into an old people's association. Korean Chinese residents everywhere in China formed these associations. The *kye* system in Korean Chinese villages was replaced by these associations, but the number of Korean residents in Korean villages at this time was rapidly decreasing as they were moving to the cities. Meanwhile, there were an increasing number of Korean Chinese in large cities such as Zhangchun, where each ward had a Korean Chinese old people's association where Korean Chinese elderly men and women would get together once a week and sing songs, practice Korean dance, and enjoy Korean food. This was the cultural substitute for their villages.

The third distinctive characteristic of Korean Chinese is their body culture. Historically speaking professional Korean folk dancers were *mudang* (무당) or Korean shamans. This aspect of Korean professional dancing was dependent on religion. Folk dancing has important meanings in Korean Chinese old people's associations. Their village lives were represented this dancing. In other words, body and body images have important meanings among Korean Chinese. Korean Folk dancing is derived from their movements in agricultural labor. The way of controlling the body in sports activities is quite different from that of this dancing. In farming activities they must continue all day, for agricultural labor requires durability. While they dig the ground with a spade, at the beginning the spade moves and the hands follow, and then the arm, the body, the feet, and the legs follow. This continuity is different from sports techniques. When we practice sports, at the beginning we must move feet, legs, and body and form the base, and then move the hands and the arms at the last to move the spade. Farming techniques necessitate expending the lowest amount of energy and movement. Agricultural farmers can continue their activities all day long. And Korean dancing follows this technique. It can be said that Korean Chinese social gatherings require dancing without exception.

In 2015 I stayed in Zhhang-chun in the Chinese north eastern area for one year to conduct my fieldwork. I noted that the body movements of traditional elderly women dancers depended on their farming techniques. However, modern North Korean dancing was created by Chö Sung-hee (崔承姬), who was educated in Japan as a modern ballerina. Later, she adopted Korean traditional dance in her professional career. Dance teachers who studied North Korean dancing in their dance schools learned sports techniques.

Historically, Japanese colonialists had used the Field Day festival for controlling Koreans from the beginning of the Manchukuo period. Later, however, Koreans in China during the Manchukuo period started to use this festival for their own purposes. Although Field Day had aspects of athletic meets, it was their own festival. The aspect of athletic meets was developed as soccer competitions later. This festival has been maintained not only in Korean villages but also in Korean communities in large cities in China, South Korea, Japan, the United States, and other countries. Here we can observe that Korean Chinese traditional village cultures are maintained even in urban situations. When Korean Chinese participate in Field Day, they merge their bodies and consciousnesses as Korean Chinese. Their consciousness traces back to their village lives, and their physical practices and images produce a sense of unity.

Physical practices such as walking, climbing, hiking, and so on are part of the body culture of Korean Chinese everywhere. Today, traditional agricultural based body techniques are losing ground and sports techniques are becoming common. Nevertheless, Korean Chinese maintain their body practices. For the Korean Chinese, to know each other is to exercise together. Therefore we can say that body culture is important for Korean Chinese.

## 2. Korean Communities in Japan during the Twentieth Century

After Japanese colonial rule began in 1910, the number of Koreans in Japan increased gradually (See Diagrams 2 and 3). Although these Koreans were, for the most part, industrial laborers, their economic background was not impoverished. They had their own money to travel from Korea to Japan by ship through Pusan to Shimonoseki. Japanese colonial officials checked their economic backgrounds in order to control the flood of Koreans wishing to enter Japan. Although these Koreans had become relatively poor under Japanese colonial rule, they could to some extent survive and prosper in Korea. Some Koreans had completed Japanese elementary school, although Japanese language ability was meaningless in Korea, so they tried to improve their status in Japan by using their Japanese language ability. Since Koreans could go to Manchuria freely, Manchukuo accepted those who could not leave for Japan (HARAJIRI 2011: 213-214). For Koreans, they believed that going to Japan was their gateway to success, but this was not to be the reality.

Although some Koreans went to Japan for study, most Koreans were manual laborers. These Korean laborers were regarded as expendable from Japanese perspectives. It was hard for them to find jobs in Japan, and they were dependent on the limited information they could get from their former villagers. Cooperative relations among former villagers, too, were limited. They had to find jobs by themselves. Koreans in Manchukuo tended to live with their family, relatives, and former villagers from Korea. Koreans in Japan tended to live together only with people from the same province. In their Korean dialect, they could communicate with other Koreans in the poor Korean ghettos in Japanese metropolitan areas, but they did not have strong relationship bonds with other Koreans as there were no Korean communities in Japan during the twentieth century.

However, there were exceptional cases. Cheju islanders formed second villages in Japan; almost 10 percent to 20 percent of the Koreans in Japan were from Cheju (TONOMURA 2011: 143). Most Cheju islanders avoided becoming manual laborers and instead became craftsmen. After they had mastered a trade, they could buy their own houses where they could do their work and accept their relatives and same village members. On Cheju Island, islanders engaged in agriculture, fishing, and diving for shellfish (by women). Although their basic work changed to crafts, human relations in Cheju villages were maintained. There were *kŏndang* (괸당), meaning mother's or father's relatives, and *kapchang*, meaning same age group members both in Cheju villages and in the second villages they formed in Japan. Cheju islanders succeeded in keeping their original cultures because they had maintained their basic human relationship ties in Japan. In addition, their folk faith, which is similar to animism and shamanism in Japan, was maintained. Women were the principal successors of this folk tradition. Cheju islanders did not abandon their cultures and dialects. Since they had different cultural traditions and dialects based on each village, they shared many customs and dialects.

There were also many Korean ghettos in Japan before 1945. After 1945, circumstances surrounding Koreans did not change. They were discriminated against and segregated by the Japanese. Discrimination and poverty were their basic problems. During the period from 1945 to 1952, Koreans held Japanese nationality. But the Japanese government removed their Japanese nationality status and did not give them the right to select Japanese nationality in 1952.

Korean socialists and communists established a Korean association after 1945. Although this association later became Chongnyŏn, the North Korean support organization, in 1955, it supported the human rights of Koreans in Japan. However, since this organization was associated with the Japanese communist party, the American army in Japan broke it up. During the mid-1960s, the Korean's poor living conditions began to improve because of rapid Japanese economic development. The Japanese government did not give Koreans in Japan basic human rights and social rights, but in spite of these restrictions Koreans started to make money through pachinko parlors and other tertiary industry jobs.

Diagram 2. Korean Population in Korea and Japan

| Year | Korean Population In Korea | Korean Population In Japan | Relocation Population From Korea to Japan | Relocation Population From Japan to Korea | The Number of Arrests In the Harbor | The Number of Arrests By Local Police |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1910 | 13128780 | 2246 | | | - | - |
| 1911 | 13832376 | 2527 | | | - | - |
| 1912 | 14566783 | 3171 | | | - | - |
| 1913 | 15169923 | 3635 | | | - | - |
| 1914 | 15620720 | 3542 | | | - | - |
| 1915 | 15320720 | 3992 | | | - | - |
| 1916 | 16309179 | 5637 | | | - | - |
| 1917 | 16617017 | 14501 | | | - | - |
| 1918 | 16697017 | 22262 | | | - | - |
| 1919 | 16783510 | 28273 | 26543 | 28867 | - | - |
| 1920 | 16916078 | 30149 | 26417 | 26205 | - | - |
| 1921 | 17059358 | 37271 | 32510 | 24116 | - | - |
| 1922 | 17208139 | 59744 | 53794 | 32574 | - | - |
| 1923 | 17446913 | 80015 | 97377 | 89745 | - | - |
| 1924 | 17619540 | 118192 | 122215 | 74432 | - | - |
| 1925 | 18543326 | 129870 | 131273 | 112471 | 3774 | - |
| 1926 | 18615033 | 143798 | 91092 | 83709 | 21407 | - |
| 1927 | 18631422 | 171275 | 138016 | 93991 | 58296 | - |
| 1928 | 18667334 | 238104 | 166286 | 117522 | 47297 | - |
| 1929 | 18784437 | 275206 | 153570 | 98275 | 9405 | - |
| 1930 | 19685587 | 298091 | 95455 | 107706 | 2566 | - |
| 1931 | 19710168 | 311197 | 102104 | 83651 | 3995 | - |
| 1932 | 20037273 | 390543 | 113615 | 77575 | 2980 | - |
| 1933 | 20205591 | 456217 | 153299 | 89120 | 3396 | - |
| 1934 | 20513804 | 537695 | 159176 | 130462 | 4317 | 169121 |
| 1935 | 21248858 | 625962 | 108639 | 106117 | 3227 | 188600 |
| 1936 | 21373572 | 690501 | 113714 | 110559 | 1610 | 135528 |
| 1937 | 21682855 | 735689 | 121882 | 120748 | 1491 | 71559 |
| 1938 | 21950616 | 799878 | 164923 | 142667 | | 75216 |
| 1939 | 22098310 | 961561 | 284726 | 176956 | | |
| 1940 | 22954563 | 1190444 | 334166 | 218027 | | |
| 1941 | 23913063 | 1469230 | 325643 | 242469 | | |
| 1942 | 25525409 | 1625054 | 334565 | 219373 | | |
| 1943 | | 1805438 | | | | |
| 1944 | | 1901409 | | | | |
| 1945 | | 1968807 | | | | |

From :
TAMURA, Noriyuki Feb. 1981 “Korean Population Based on the Research by Police Bureau, Department of Interior.”

*Economy and Economic*s
Governor-General of Korea 1910-1945 *Statistical Yearbook of Governor-General of Korea*, 1910-1945 *The Outline of the Department of Police in Korea*, 1910-1945 *Korea Situation*
Governor-General of Korea 1922 *Order Situation in Korea*, 1933, 1938 *Today's Order Situation in Korea*
（田村紀之 1981 年 2 月「内務省警保局調査による朝鮮人人口」『経済と経済学』、朝鮮総督府『朝鮮総督府統計年報』、『朝鮮警察概要』、『朝鮮事情』各年版、朝鮮総督府『朝鮮治安状況』1922 年、『最近に於ける朝鮮治安状況』1933 年、1938 年）

Diagram 3. Koreans to Japan and Returnees from Japan to Korea

| Year | Students to Japan ① | Laborers to Japan ② | Others ③ | Returnee Students ④ | Returnee Laborers ⑤ | Other Returnees ⑥ | ①－④ | ②－⑤ | ③－⑥ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1922 | 3013 | 41038 | 9743 | 2752 | 21982 | 7840 | 261 | 19056 | 1903 |
| 1923 | 3234 | 87268 | 6875 | 5194 | 78045 | 6506 | ▵1960 | 9223 | 369 |
| 1924 | 3146 | 104361 | 14708 | | | | | | |
| 1925 | 3485 | 107392 | 20399 | 3477 | 93804 | 15190 | 8 | 13588 | 5209 |
| 1926 | 4887 | 63979 | 22226 | 5059 | 63413 | 15237 | ▵172 | 566 | 6989 |
| 1927 | 5008 | 102434 | 30574 | 5022 | 68871 | 20098 | ▵14 | 33563 | 10476 |
| 1928 | 6087 | 130838 | 29361 | 5566 | 92879 | 19077 | 521 | 37959 | 10284 |
| 1929 | 5730 | 107244 | 40596 | 5534 | 70427 | 22314 | 196 | 36817 | 18282 |
| 1930 | 6493 | 64148 | 24814 | 5773 | 78112 | 23821 | 720 | ▵13964 | 993 |
| 1931 | 6079 | 65908 | 30117 | 5990 | 56791 | 20870 | 89 | 9117 | 9247 |
| 1932 | 6453 | 68949 | 38213 | 6180 | 46801 | 24594 | 273 | 22148 | 13619 |
| 1933 | 7530 | 91179 | 54590 | 6959 | 52179 | 29982 | 571 | 39000 | 24608 |
| 1934 | 8278 | 95007 | 55891 | 7890 | 69209 | 53363 | 388 | 25798 | 2528 |
| 1935 | 9498 | 57779 | 41362 | 9264 | 61712 | 35141 | 234 | ▵3933 | 6221 |
| 1936 | 12902 | 59807 | 41005 | 12406 | 61678 | 36475 | 496 | ▵1871 | 4530 |
| 1937 | 17391 | 60997 | 43494 | 17549 | 62918 | 40281 | ▵158 | ▵1921 | 3213 |
| 1938 | 21334 | 83658 | 59931 | 20179 | 74275 | 48213 | 1155 | 9383 | 11718 |
| 1939 | 31149 | 154972 | 98605 | 23105 | 90460 | 63391 | 8044 | 64512 | 35214 |
| 1940 | 36969 | 192203 | 104994 | 31021 | 115844 | 71162 | 5948 | 76359 | 33832 |

From:
Governor-General of Korea 1910-1945 *Korea Situation* , Department of Police, Governor-General of Korea 1922 Order *Situation in Korea*, 1910-1945 *The Outline of Police in Korea*. 1910-1945（朝鮮総督府『朝鮮事情』各年版、朝鮮総督府『朝鮮治安状況』1922 年、『朝鮮警察概要』各年版）

Both assimilation and segregation have been the Japanese government's basic policies toward Koreans in Japan. Because of discrimination, Koreans were scattered in a narrow world, where they only associated with their family, relatives, and other Korean people in the Korean ghettos. The Korean association was an artificial one, and was not based on traditional Korean communities. During this time the two Korean nation-states were established simultaneously in Korea. The result was that politically, Koreans were divided into Chongnyŏn, which supported North Korea, and Mindan, which supported South Korea. Koreans in Japan actually have been governed by three nation-states, Japan, South Korea, and North Korea. Regardless of Korean traditional communities and cultures, Koreans in Japan regard themselves as North Koreans or as South Koreans. Koreans in Japan cannot avoid North or South Korean nationalism, and this is the important difference between Korean Chinese and Koreans in Japan.

While existing without human rights and social rights, political issues have been very important

for Koreans in Japan. They had two choices: to gain Japanese nationality or to continue as North Korean nationals or as South Korean nationals. For Koreans in Japan gaining Japanese nationality was equal to changing from Koreans into Japanese. However, they didn't want to be Japanese, and proudly held on to their South Korean or the North Korean nationality in order to avoid changing. Gradually however, the number of Koreans receiving Japanese nationality was increasing. More and more Koreans tried to become "Japanese", even though they had hated changing into Japanese for a long time, and Japanese nationalization became common. Becoming nationalized Japanese was not undertaken to receive human rights, but in order to gain status and a position in Japan. These naturalized Koreans take Japanese surnames and regard themselves as officially Japanese. However, there are some Koreans who are proud of their origins. One of these notable exceptions is, Son Masayoshi, who is the owner of Soft Bank and a respected top business man. He does not conceal his Korean name but has Japanese nationality. His case is very rare.

According to field data[3], Koreans in Japan maintain ancestor worship rituals, but these rituals are confined to their closed life-world. In their social lives, they are just like Japanese. Actually, most Koreans in Japan cannot speak Korean. Some Koreans learn the Korean language through North Korean national schools in Japan, but the number of these people is limited. Koreans in Japan are culturally and linguistically assimilated into Japanese society, but they are supported by North or South Korean national identities.

Both Chongnyŏn, which supports North Korea, and Mindan, which supports South Korea, have systematically dominated Koreans in Japan, and this has basically not changed until now. There was a movement for demanding the human rights of Koreans in Japan known as the Min-tou-ren (民闘連) movement during the 1980s, but it was not supported by Chongnyŏn Mindan (TONOMURA 2009: 469-474). Mintou-ren was the first Korean movement for human rights in Japan, but this kind of human rights movement has not been popular among Koreans in Japan. Rather, the nationalistic attitude of Koreans in Japan has continued although the number changing from Korean to Japanese nationality is increasing.

Koreans in Japan do not share their original cultural or language traits with Korean Chinese. They are culturally and linguistically Japanese, while Korean Chinese are culturally and linguistically Korean except for people of the third generation, who generally cannot speak Korean. These people usually become Korean speakers after they go to South Korea, since they have unconsciously gained Korean language abilities by listening to their parents speaking Korean at home.

In this paper we have not touched on the forced labor performed by Koreans and Chinese for the Japanese during World War II, which is a historical fact. Many were killed by the terrible and brutal labor conditions, or if they survived they returned to their homeland after the end of the war in 1945. However, it is also a fact that the vast majority of Koreans in Japan went to Japan as free laborers from Korea and called their families from Korea long before the before 1945 (HARAJIRI 1989: 19-20, TONOMURA 2009: 91-98), and they did not go back because Korea was unstable and they did not have an economic base or a life base there.

There is also a significant difference between Koreans in Japan and Korean Chinese. Unlike Koreans in Japan, Korean Chinese have Chinese nationality with their own human rights just like other Chinese in China. Although they are a minority in China, they can enjoy equal human rights and social rights. Legally, there is no discrimination for Korean Chinese in China. Therefore we can say that the legal status of Korean Chinese thus differs from that of Koreans in Japan.

[3] HARAJIRI (1989) was the first anthropological analytic book based on field work and field data on Koreans in Japan. I have published several books on Koreans in Japan (HARAJIRI 1997, 2000, 2003, 2006a). Field data in this context come from these books.

## 3. Inter-ethnic Relationships between Koreans and Other Ethnic People in China and Japan

Seen from historical perspectives, Koreans in China during the Manchukuo period established symbiotic relationships with Han Chinese. Koreans in China have concentrated on rice agriculture, and have depended upon Han Chinese for their non-rice products, manure, and compost. It is this interdependence that caused symbiotic relationships to develop between Koreans and Han Chinese. Because they concentrated on rice agriculture, the amount of rice production increased, while the Han Chinese bartered their vegetables and compost for the rice. In this way, Han Chinese could obtain rice to eat.

In Manchukuo there was a hierarchy of peoples beginning with Japanese and continuing through Koreans, Taiwanese, and Chinese. From Chinese perspectives, Koreans were Japanese followers, but Koreans were forced to become assimilated as Japanese. From Japanese perspectives, Koreans had to abandon their Korean cultures and language and become the children of the Japanese emperor, as had the Japanese, and so Koreans had only one choice: to become Japanese. This hierarchy was for the rationalization of Japanese colonial rule, and Koreans suffered because of it. Although Koreans in rural villages had maintained symbiotic relationships with Han Chinese, the Korean irrigation system for rice agriculture was destroyed by Han Chinese in many places after 1945 because Han Chinese thought this irrigation system was useless because rice agriculture would disappear. Koreans, however, reestablished this irrigation system. This required much energy, but Koreans were aware of the importance of cooperation with others. This cooperation later became the base of Korean communities. Crisis became the foundation of mutual cooperation.

The relationship between Koreans and Japanese was that of followers and dominator until the end of World War II in 1945, although Koreans followed Japanese superficially, while they learned modern ways of life, organization management, and other skills from them. After 1945, Koreans learned ways of life and other matters from the Chinese. This Korean trait of willingness to learn new skills has been maintained until now. Both these symbiotic and learning attitudes were applied for maintaining their lives in large cities in China, South Korea, Japan, and the United States.

Korean Chinese living in South Korea are suffering discrimination by South Koreans. From South Korean perspectives, Koreans have to share the same language and cultures, but Korean Chinese do not have the same language and cultures. Since Korean Chinese have lived in China, their cultures are different from those of South Koreans. However, most South Koreans do not accept this reality. But from Korean Chinese perspectives, they must know South Koreans and their cultures, and they must be aware of differences between Korean Chinese and South Koreans in order to learn methods of communication with South Koreans. Korean Chinese cannot expect that South Koreans will understand them, but some South Koreans have proven willing to understand Korean Chinese. Korean Chinese select South Koreans carefully, finding open-minded people who can become their friends. This method of association comes partly from their symbiotic experiences in Korean Chinese villages, and they are able to apply the same method in other countries.

## 4. Advantages of Korean Chinese

Korean Chinese as farmers have lived with nature, and their communication has been based upon the pre-modern characteristics of Korean Chinese cultures, but in addition Korean Chinese have modern ideas and tactics learned from colonial Japanese and modern Chinese in order to survive. Both the pre-modern and modern ideas and tactics have raised the ability of Korean Chinese. The educational performance of Korean Chinese has been excellent, and better than Han Chinese in China because of this characteristic. Modern ideas helped to support the achievement of

better educational performance, while sharing the pre-modern body culture has enabled Korean Chinese to engage in deep, mutual communication with other Korean Chinese.

Since Korean Chinese have lived in multi-ethnic China, foreign cultural understanding and communication with non-Korean people has been common. For example, South Koreans use only chili pepper as a spice, but Korean Chinese use various kinds of spices in their cuisine. Further, they have accepted Uyghur food, and have applied this food to create their own new foods. As this shows, it is not difficult for Korean Chinese to understand and accept foreign cultures. There is much evidence of this in South Korea, Japan, and the United States. For example, 10 years ago most Korean Chinese in the United States who came as illegal immigrants could not speak English. In order to gain enough money, some Korean Chinese men became sushi chefs. They entered Korean sushi chef schools using the Korean language, and then started to work in Korean sushi bars. They could perform this work even without English language skills, while they communicated with Americans using body language. Some Korean sushi chefs behaved like Japanese in order to gain better reputations from Americans, which shows that Korean Chinese have the ability to adapt.

In comparison, Koreans in Japan have lost their pre-modern cultural heritage and continue their urban lives. Culturally and linguistically they have been assimilated into Japanese society. However, the two modern Korean nation-states still want to dominate them. Since they are discriminated against by the majority Japanese, the two nation-states offer them an escape. Lacking pre-modern Korean cultures, Koreans in Japan maintain their modern national identities. It is clear that if they learn culture from Korean Chinese, they will be able to discover the differences between Korean Chinese and Koreans living in Japan and come to know what they must do to survive and improve their lives. They will have to retrieve their pre-modern Korean cultures, but they have a significant problem to overcome. This is because the Korean associations in Japan were established in the 1940s by socialists and communists, and they did not concern themselves with pre-modern Korean cultures. Chongnyŏn and Mindan each have supported respectively one of the two nation-states in Korea. They are concerned only about modern national cultures in those two countries.

While it can be concluded that Koreans in Japan could learn much from Korean Chinese, since most South Koreans are fervent nationalists, they believe that today's national cultures in South Korea are the only authentic Korean tradition, and so they do not wish to do so. They regard Korean Chinese as capable people because they can speak Korean and Chinese, but learning foreign cultures in South Korea is meaningless for them. However the fact is that at present, in the United States the number of Koreans who came from South Korea exceeds two million people. South Koreans have their families, relatives, and friends in foreign cultures, and the study of foreign cultures is thus becoming necessary for them. If they can open their minds they will improve their future lives.

Meanwhile, the number of Korean Chinese in the Korean villages in northeastern China is rapidly decreasing. Although Korean Chinese have their traditional pre-modern body culture and other customs, urban residence by Korean Chinese is becoming common in China, South Korea, Japan, and the United States. Since Korean villages are disappearing, they cannot return to their villages. Korean Chinese must consider their future plans for their own sake.

# Conclusion

This article, through comparative research on Korean Chinese and Koreans in Japan, clarifies meanings of culture for both Korean Chinese and Koreans in Japan. Korean Chinese have maintained traditional pre-modern cultures in their Korean villages for their own survival and development. There have been traditional relocating (slash and burn agricultural tradition) and settlement ways of life (rice farming settlement lives). These two basic methods have provided them with adaptation abilities in foreign countries, and enabled them to develop symbiotic relationships with Han Chinese. These were not traditional methods, however. Korean Chinese accepted modern

ideas and tactics from Japanese and Chinese. In other words, post-modern conditions, including relocating to other places and countries, has given Korean Chinese new choices for selecting their lives. But for themselves, these choices were not “new” but accumulated in their life-world. We can conclude that for Korean Chinese, in their increasingly urban lives, they must maintain their pre-modern conditions which have always promised intra-communication with other peoples and cultures.

Conversely, Koreans in Japan are very modern people, but are dominated by Japan, North Korea, and South Korea. They have lost their pre-modern cultures, with the exception of Cheju islanders. We have shown that this is the most important difference between Koreans in Japan and Korean Chinese. As we have discussed above, if the Koreans in Japan were able to restore their pre-modern cultures, they would have new possibilities for development; but whether or not they will reflect upon themselves and attempt to restore their lost pre-modern cultures is a question for future discussion.

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